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Alan Brown
Battle Opens

Neil Kinnock MP
The Crisis

Jo Richardson MP
Arms Trade Danger

J. R. Shanley
Trade Union Education

Unemployment/John Purton : Iraq/Adel Haba
Germany/Hugh Latham : Education Cuts/Reg Bird

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Acting Editor: Andrew Rothstein Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot
Managing Editor: Nicola Seyd

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BATTLE OPENS

'*Miners:* But what you propose means a reduction of wages.
'*Prime Minister:* Yes, All the workers in this country have got to face a reduction of wages.
'*Miners:* What do you mean?
'*Prime Minister:* I mean all the workers of this country have got to take reductions in wages to help put industry on its feet.'

Dialogue between Prime Minister STANLEY BALDWIN and Miners' representatives, July 30, 1925.*

'What the government is asking for in the year ahead . . . is not a year for self but a year for Britain.'

Prime Minister HAROLD WILSON, addressing the Mineworkers' Conference, Scarborough, July 7, 1975.

July 20, 1975

A fifty-year period for the British working people closes as it opened: crisis, unemployment, demands for wage cuts, and government retrenchment. Baldwin's 'the wages of all workers must come down' was to ring down the succeeding decades, denoting the Tory view of the workers' place in the capitalist scheme of things. Fifty years on and a Labour Prime Minister puts the same demand—dressed in the public relations garb of modern bourgeois politics, but backed by legal powers Baldwin did not dream of. The British people deserve better, considering the advances made in the world over half a century, and their contribution to the battle for a better life. In the twenty years following 1925 they waged a general strike, suffered open treachery in the movement, fought unemployment, the means test and savage government cuts, overcame the fascist threat at home and helped defeat its barbarism abroad. In the succeeding thirty years, since the war, they have continuously fought to maintain both their living standards and their democratic rights, blighted by a crisis-ridden economy and alternate Tory and right-wing Labour administrations which have variously stoked the fires of inflation and attacked living standards to make the people pay for it. We now reap the bitter harvest of fifty years with the same forces in control of the basic levers of political and economic power. Direct and heavy cuts in real wages are again demanded, cuts in public expenditure are being made, with grave suspicions of sharper ones to come. Together, these two lines of government policy would increase the already heavy unemployment total—lauded by the Tory press as a means of bolstering the system and providing a

* *Daily Herald*, July 31, 1925. Quoted in Allen Hutt's *The Post-War History of the British Working Class*. Gollancz, 1937, p 110.

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hammer against trade union action. The most recent crisis White Paper, mis-named *The Attack on Inflation* (Cmnd 6151), and the yet to be announced legal measures, signify a further deterioration in both the system itself and its rulers' confidence that their policies can command either compliance or support (somewhat different to the findings of slanted opinion polls). A month ago, closing his article in *Labour Monthly*, Andrew Rothstein said: 'The referendum was a battle—but it was the harbinger of bigger battles to come.' Already these open up, and once again the Trades Union Congress this September and the Labour Party Conference in October will be the occasion for battles on the most vital question of Britain's direction in the coming period.

Panic Measures with a Purpose

With what speed we come to this situation after the voting of June 5! Has history presented the first instalment of a bill with quite such speed before? Has the first lesson been there to learn quite so quickly after the event? Britain's ills did not start with Common Market entry, though many are being exacerbated by it. One thing, however, is certain: a vote which strikes directly against the interests of the people themselves, and plays into the hands of reaction at home and predatory financial interests abroad, can do no other than make the yoke round the people's necks that much heavier. June 5 was the hair trigger letting loose the full force of the present economic onslaught, but with policies in no way designed to deal with the causes of the present difficulties. These panic measures follow a run on the pound which bears all the hall-marks of deliberate engineering. The Gnomes of Zurich and like sections of the international gambling fraternity cannot take all the blame. Pressures are frequently exerted on governments by attacks on their currencies (and conditions attached to ensuing loans). At times such pressures are unwelcome to governments on the receiving end; sometimes not. As a *Times* financial correspondent remarked on June 28:

> But in some respects the sharp retreat in the financial markets can be of considerable help to the government, creating the climate in which the Trades Union Congress is forced to accept severe curbs on pay or accept responsibility for the consequences.

The conviction is widespread and growing that the recent sharp slither of the pound (taking it down to no less than 29.2 per cent below ten other key currencies since December 1971) was quietly

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encouraged from the City of London, with the Bank of England contributing little to arrest the slide. If trick it was, it has had its narrow and temporary success. But what flows from it? Certainly it will have no healing effect on the causes of Britain's long-term crisis. Nor was it intended for that purpose. This latest child of the freezes, 'pauses', 'plateaux', 'phases', restraints and standstills of the past 30 years has the same basic aim as its predecessors: to cripple the wages movement as attacks are made on living standards. Let us consider some of those in the pipeline. While many of the price-raising effects of the Healey budget have already passed into the Cost of Living Index (VAT increase, duties, etc), those which are being forced on to the nationalised industries and public bodies by the refusal of further government financial assistance will be longer in coming and sharp in their effects. Again, the next round of price increases due to our continuing 'equalisation' with Common Market prices is due shortly and will add significantly to living costs (we still have 40 per cent of the differential to add to our prices). Then there is the revaluation of the so-called 'Green Pound'—the unit of account by which we pay for our food imports from the Market—which the Brussels bureaucracy considers now to need revaluing downwards. Negotiations are likely to slice some 10 per cent from its value, putting up our Market food costs by that much. So the current measures have the quite specific purpose, unconnected with solving Britain's under-investment, lagging productive capacity, low pay, damaging capital exports or growing parasitism, of making the people pay for the results of right-wing economic policies at home and our continuing membership of the Common Market. The government was well aware that the trade union movement had grown too strong to allow such a decimation of living standards. Thus this panoply of pay controls, thus the sleight of hand, thus the legal enforcement measures (still secret) in reserve.

Whips *and* Scorpions

Much of the public relations exercise leading up to the Wilson-Healey White Paper was designed to convince us that the choice before the government was between clamping down directly on wages, or leaving them alone and letting the growing unemployment cut the purchasing power of the people. We are regaled with heavily-leaked stories about splits on both sides of parliament between the 'wage restraint' brigade and the 'monetarists' who want savage cuts in public expenditure to cut the unions down to size via mass unemployment. The unions were threatened, as part of the pressure

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for 'voluntary' wage curbs, with the alternative of two million or more unemployment. But two falsities are involved here. First, the last budget was designed to create unemployment, has done so, is doing so, and will continue to do so. Second, the very act of slashing real wages and purchasing power (see John Purton's article on page 357) lengthens the unemployment queues created by government spending cuts. And, a third factor, it is an open secret that plans are being laid for further government spending cuts when the TUC debates and decisions are safely out of the way. This is not, therefore, a question of a tender government (guided by a Tory treasury) choosing between the whips of Solomon and the scorpions of Rehoboam—it is a case of *both* being inflicted on the working people at the same time. The Bank of England is reported to be advocating an effective £2,000 million cut in public spending and, according to the *Times* (June 20, 1975), a review of spending with this possible target 'is expected to occupy most of the summer.' The same newspaper (July 14, 1975) described as the Chancellor's 'tactful omission' his lack of any detail about further fiscal or monetary policy measures. But falls in retail sales are already taking place. The Central Statistical Office announced on July 10 that living standards fell officially between the first quarters of 1974 and 1975 by one to one-and-a-half per cent; retail sales fell by 14 per cent in May, and the process will clearly accelerate from now on. Officially registered unemployment (excluding the large numbers of women who do not register because their areas are devoid of female job opportunities) totals over 950,000, a post-war June record; a further 200,000 plus are working short-time. The burden of Britain's inflationary spiral is clearly falling where it is meant to—on the working people.

Inflation and Parasitism

The heart-beat of inflation is the sound of the government printing presses, creating money to meet demands from within the economy for greater liquidity. In recent decades it has done this for the most evil of purposes—the encouragement of speculative parasitism. From the 'fifties, with its take-over and property booms and monopolistic growth, the process has accelerated. The price of land has risen to incredible heights, basic commodity prices have likewise soared at the hands of home (as well as overseas) speculators, and the price of money itself (i.e. the cost of borrowing for domestic or industrial purposes) has lately grown to grotesque dimensions. The provision of money for speculation, the fuelling of parasitism, has

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been a major factor in creating the situation we face today. Over the whole field of industry, commerce and distribution, these parasitic costs have eaten their way through to consumer price levels. Factory-gate prices have reflected their insertion into production pricing mechanisms (all at cost-plus); wholesale and retail mark-ups have increased alarmingly to pay the tribute demanded by property and financial speculators battening on land, buildings and credit. Increased prices have been imposed, not to pay for wage rises to production or distributive workers, but to feed the leeches attached to the system. Tory policies, which fed fortunes to their friends and backers, were totally inflationary, and Labour administrations have oft-times been left to clear up the economic consequences. What they have not done is attack the evil at its root, deep down in the system. So 1975 sees us paying yet more of the price. But it does not stop there, for there comes a point in the inflationary process where the quantitative flood of easy credit turns into a qualitative change. The point is reached where it becomes more profitable for the owners of capital to deal in speculation rather than in industrial production. There has always been an element of this in our economy, but it is now no longer on the fringes—it is becoming a central factor. As Keynes put it:

> Speculators may do no harm as bubbles on a steady stream of enterprise. But the position is serious when enterprise becomes the bubble on a whirlpool of speculation. When the capital development of a country becomes a by-product of the activities of a casino, the job is likely to be ill-done. (*The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money*, J. M. Keynes, Macmillan, 1936, page 159)

Towards the Knacker's Yard

The process of using capital resources for speculation rather than investment in productive industry has grown visibly over recent years. In his Labour Party paper, *A Ten Year Industrial Strategy for Britain*, Tony Wedgwood Benn said that if the trend of the past four years were to continue

> we will have closed down 15 per cent of our entire manufacturing capacity and nearly two million industrial workers will have been made redundant between 1970 and 1980.

The proposition for a National Enterprise Board was a response to this situation, an attempt to reverse this path towards the knacker's yard—though the project is now described as 'emasculated' by the left-wing forces in the Labour Party who nurtured and defended it.

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Nor can one expect overseas investors to make up the gap left by the failure of British capital to build factories—their money has to breed as fast. Our entry into the Common Market was a further measure designed to increase the breeding ground for British finance capital (increasingly a non-national entity, with no ties to its country of origin). Nor are multinational companies concerned in the slightest to invest here just because we are labelled 'Britain' on their wall maps. They take their investment decisions on grounds solely designed to supply them with the highest possible return on capital. They have no nationality, only clinging to certain countries for company registration purposes (i.e. the tax havens which allow them to evade countless millions in taxation). Unless our state, at the behest of and under the control of the people, ensures that investment is made in British industry, the future will be bleak for the present rising generation who seek a future where skill, expertise and effort will be rewarded and contribute to Britain's all-round well-being. The demand of the left forces for controls on the export of capital, and for the direction of capital investment at home—countering the determination of the City of London and the Treasury to allow no such thing—is thus of vital importance.

The Coalition Chameleon

A new, vastly important factor in the present situation is the widespread acceptance of policy lines, such as that just mentioned, put forward by the left. As the economic situation deteriorates, grey areas give way to sharp choices of policy. And in face of this new, positive feature, what do we hear from the right as they sense their long-term domination slipping away? Why, coalition! But what sort of coalition? *Labour Monthly*, in May, drew attention to similarities between political tendencies now working themselves out and those of the MacDonald era in 1931 (in very different conditions). MacDonald ran to the Tories, taking a rump of his cabinet with him, and some have looked for a possible repeat performance by Wilson. But one only has to consider the effect of this—the fact that it would leave the Party bereft of its consistent right wing, leave a healthier organisation with strong trade union links, and feeling its way towards new, better policies—to realise the dangers this would present to the ruling class. In 1931 this was not the case, but today the movement is stronger, and the right wing knows it. But this is not the only form of coalition mooted. A vogue has sprung up of presenting the need for fundamental change in Britain's electoral system. Many schemes are put forward, with

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varying types of proportional representation designed to give the currently dominant rulers of the Labour and Tory Parties greater power over the composition of their parliamentary parties. The single point of the schemes (whatever sob stories for the Liberals one may hear) is to form the basis of a right-wing, Tory-Lab-Lib consensus in the Commons, and to destroy the growing left grouping. The right-wing link-up in the referendum campaign has inspired such elements as Lords Chalfont and Alport to project the idea. Lord Chalfont (*Times*, June 16, 1975) says the campaign provided the electorate 'with the unusual spectacle of politicians of all three major political parties working together for an aim which they believed to be in the national interest', calls for a changed electoral system, as our present one 'is demonstrably incompatible with truly representative government,' and looks for 'a leader who will recognise the profound seriousness of the problems which face the nation' (he plumps for Wilson). Lord Alport (*Times*, June 14, 1975) says 'there will never be another coalition like that of 1931,' and goes on:

> What is needed now is not a coalition of existing parties, with all the incubus of memories over issues which are no longer relevant, but a new flexibility of political alignment in our party system and a more effective representation in parliament of the great mass of moderately minded folk who place the national interest above that of class or party.

Apart from shuddering slightly when lords talk about 'folk', it is instructive that those who have long trumpeted the benign influence of our parliamentary system, across six continents and five oceans, should now advocate its replacement. The Tory Party once considered itself the 'natural' ruling party; later it had to share power with the plebian Labour Party; now there is panic that a Labour administration could be elected on a progressive platform, and the left be strong enough to ensure that it stuck to its election promises. However, despite such current rumblings, the present danger is that there will be a continuation of that coalescence of right-wing Labour policies, coupled with Tory votes as a long stop, which has for 30 years impeded real progress in Britain.

Lessons of Fifty Years

The introduction of the Wilson-Healey measures to the accompaniment of panic signals served varied purposes, one of which was to present the illusion of a storm suddenly blowing up from an unforeseen set of conditions, unconnected with what had gone before. The waves that batter the ship, we are required to believe,

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have come out of nowhere, and the forlorn passengers must leave their cabins, throw luggage overboard and set to with baling pans. But the reality lies deeper in history, from which the lessons can be drawn. On the very afternoon following Baldwin's wage-cut demands to the miners in 1925, a special conference of trade union executives gave unanimous approval to a TUC General Council document (Official Instructions to all Railway and Transport Workers) which began: 'Wagons containing coal must not be attached to any train after midnight on Friday, July 31. . .' and empowered the General Council to call a strike on any scale deemed requisite. Thus Red Friday was born, and the government which a week earlier had refused so much as a penny subsidy to the mining industry, now granted a nine-month subsidy and appointed a Royal Commission. As history shows, it spent those nine months preparing to meet the working class in what became the general strike. But its class offensive did not solve the crisis, which burst out afresh in 1931, leading to the MacDonald-Baldwin (Tory) coalition, costing Labour 14 years out of office. Since then, we have seen a destructive, debilitating pursuance of Tory and right-wing Labour policies, spattered with apologias, cries of desperation, appeals for loyalty, coupled with manoeuvres, threats and legal sanctions. Four years from the Labour victory in 1945, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor, said (September 19, 1949) that they had been trying to deal with our economic problems 'by a series of temporary expedients, which have led to a series of crises as each expedient became exhausted.' The Labour government nose dived in 1950 and was sunk the following year. On January 23, 1958, Tory Chancellor Peter Thorneycroft, resigning his post, declared: 'Over twelve years we have slithered from one crisis to another . . . it is the road to ruin.' And so on, through Selwyn Lloyd and R. A. Butler to Labour's *Declaration of Intent*, George Brown's failed 'Plan' and wage restraint in 1966, backed by legal sanctions which decided Frank Cousins to leave the cabinet and go back to the Transport and General Workers' Union. He told Harold Wilson, in a lengthy letter of resignation, that they had

> inevitably drifted into a state of believing that a policy of restricting wage increases is a substitute for an economic policy . . . we have slipped back to the usual position of Treasury control of our approach to questions of investment spending and planning.

Then the Tories again, defeated by the electorate after being brought to their knees by the miners, followed by the 1974 Labour victories. Labour was pledged to dismantle the Tory Industrial Relations Act

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and take the law out of industrial relations for good. But now we are told, in a White Paper which is to be followed by the announcement of legal sanctions should they be deemed necessary:

> If we do not, over the next 12 months, achieve a drastic reduction in the current disastrous rate of inflation by the measures outlined in this document, the British people will be engulfed in a general economic catastrophe of incalculable proportions.

It does appear, after fifty years of this sort of experience, that capitalism is an extremely difficult system to 'save'. But, that being as it may, it is obvious beyond doubt that crucifying the people's living standards for this dubious purpose only ends up with them getting further and worse doses of the same medicine. They deserve better.

Advance or Retreat

Britain's past fifty years illustrate one path. But of course there are others. We are now suffering the supposed delights of 'managed capitalism', projected by Labour's right wing in the post-war years when we were 'taming' capitalism, making it work for us. We would have no more mass unemployment and instead living standards would rise as the working class—in partnership with its class enemies —found the magic 'third way' in the world. And we would keep 'freedom' as the visible sign that there had been no real change in our system. Other countries took the different road, of turning from capitalism to socialism, relying on their people in the climb from wartime and pre-war conditions. Not for us this new road, strewn with fresh problems to be faced and overcome, but also with hope and or[illegible]. So today, while the socialist world makes steady pr[illegible] difficulties, we in Britain learn that no society is st[illegible] advances or retreats. Thus the battle for [illegible] more urgent.

Th[illegible]

A[illegible] forces are gathering, following these most [illegible] to launch the fight back. This will ta[illegible]s of the labour movement this autumn[illegible]mselves, inside parliament and throug[illegible]y. The measures will fail in their stated [illegible]lation, not because they are harsh on the peopl[illegible]re not designed to do that particular job. Slowing d[illegible]f increase in the Cost of Living Index through effective cu[illegible]l wages (if, indeed, the Index were to be

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slowed) is *not* the same thing as overcoming inflation; the inflationary pressures will still be a structural part of the system until such time as measures are taken to deal with their causes. The proof of this has been seen at every attempt to 'defeat inflation' by such means, while allowing the profligate printing of money for speculation to continue. They are put forward with only one argument: save the government. While appreciating the motives of many left forces who see the need to keep a Labour government in power and preserve progressive legislation where possible (as illustrated by Neil Kinnock's article in this issue), experience indicates that such measures as are contained in the White Paper will not serve this end. Giving added credibility to Tory policies, by their use under a Labour government, is not the way to save that government, it is the way to undermine it. And the inclusion in the White Paper of the intention 'to maintain policies which, *over a period of years*, will control domestic inflation and prevent any resurgence of the present rates of price increase' (emphasis added) is either flapdoodle put in to give a semblance of stability to the current policies, or it denotes a serious intention to introduce a corporate state type of governmental interference into the British system. But—it bears repeating—1975 is not 1931. There is today a powerful and significant section of the trade union and labour movement armed with alternative policies designed to tackle some of the real problems facing the country. Demands for a new direction for Britain—such as those spelled out at length in the Communist Party's programme, *The Only Real Way Out*—contribute to the realisation of that vital broader unity which has been sought over the years, and which is now finding a far wider acceptance. The 8,470,000 votes cast against membership of the Common Market are of great importance in this respect, for the anti-market campaigners battered their way through the media censorship on the basis of *policies*, and that campaign (which must not be halted but pressed forward in every way possible) indicated the strength of numbers of those who are prepared to disregard mass propaganda, distortion and innuendo and vote for a different path ahead. Rid of the shackles of Market membership, with higher living standards, lower unemployment, a slashed arms bill, controlling the use of its capital and attacking the basis of parasitism, speculation and monopoly, the British people can advance. In these and like policies lies the hope that a united left movement can develop its forces to open up the transformation of our political and economic situation.

Alan Brown

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THE CRISIS

Neil Kinnock MP

ON July 10, a day or so after Denis Healey, Michael Foot and Shirley Williams went to Congress House with the offer that the TUC could not refuse, and the day before Harold Wilson's 'Attack on Inflation' announcement, the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union agreed upon the following resolution:

> The F and GP endorses the efforts of the TGWU members on the TUC General Council and, whilst approving the approach made by the TUC, the Committee considers that any development of reserve powers legislation would be against our strong advice.
>
> Nevertheless the Union will continue to support the Labour government on the basis of TUC policy (including the social contract).
>
> We further urge all ministers who share the views of the TUC to remain at their posts with a view to ensuring a united labour movement during this difficult period.

It is the clearest expression of the torture through which the trade union movement is passing today. Here are men who 'sound of mind and in full possession of their faculties', as all the best wills have it, are prepared to risk their credibility and freeze their memories in order to give the Labour government *one last chance*. That is back-breaking loyalty. Not the loyalty of sheep or the dumb compliance to which the mindless and the alibi-seekers resort, but the loyalty of socialists who want the Employment Protection Bill, the Industry Bill and other measures now at the point of enactment secured, and are prepared to pay an enormous price for that achievement. Those in the trade union movement who disagree with them know that; the worst accusation against them is that they have too much hope and trust. Only fools who do not try to understand the awful dilemma of such loyalty accuse them of treachery or timidity. Only bigger fools would mistake their uneasy agreement for naive consent.

And there lies the real danger to the labour movement. An inch—the biggest inch in British labour history—has been given by the TUC General Council to the Labour government. If the government takes the statutory mile it will deserve the full loathing and anger of the organised working class. And they will get it. No bond of personal or collective loyalty could withstand government betrayal of the support which has been given to them. Michael Foot and some of his ministerial colleagues understand that; but such com-

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prehension is not universal in Whitehall and Westminster. Those who do not understand will have to learn. They can either learn the hard way through conflict which would make Heath's experience look like a love-in, or they can learn the other way by implementing the propositions of the TUC, forgetting the self-destroying nonsense of wages policy enforcement powers and seeking a socialist solution to the capitalist crisis.

That is not a soft option; far from it. And, if the government wishes to prove its virility by 'tough measures', it should be going for the 'fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power' promised by Labour's election manifesto, rather than for the sick simplicity of mass unemployment. Taking on the vested interests of the financial institutions, the greed of the creditors and the cybermen in the Treasury is a rather more challenging task than giving 16-year-old children an apprenticeship in jobless misery, putting 40-year-old fathers on the dole or sentencing 58-year-old redundants to the death cell of unwanted retirement.

The government realises that this is the essential challenge. Their White Paper and extraordinary Remuneration, Grants and Charges Bill are presented (as was the package of July 20, 1966) as panicky, shamefaced 'alternatives' to unemployment rather than a proud strategy for combating crisis. They would not even publish any Bill or Order defining the 'reserve powers' afraid that, like some Dr Jekyll potion, it would transform them into a hideous Tory monster. But we all know what happened to Dr Jekyll. And the government, which has already introduced a statutory policy by its cash limits on nationalised industries and its Rate Support Grant sanctions against £6-busting local authorities, is well on the way towards assuming the new repulsive identity.

There is still time for the antidote. The TUC General Council in accepting the £6 limit also presented a firm strategy for price targets and limitations, a major reduction in unemployment and further improvements in the social wage. The *Tribune* Group of MPs has spelt out the short and long term policies needed to secure Britain's international payments position and end the investment starvation. And, whatever differences of detail exist between these and other similar propositions for resolving crisis in a civilised and socialist way, they have two vital elements in common: they are direct developments of the programme on which all Labour MPs were elected in 1974 and they uncompromisingly reject unemployment as an acceptable anti-inflationary weapon.

This must be the course for a Labour government which wants to

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survive and prosper. If that course is not followed the trade union and labour movement will not again be willing to refloat the ship as they did after 1970. One wrecking may be poor navigation. Two wreckings is piracy.

ARMS TRADE—NEW DANGERS

Jo Richardson MP

THE increasing arms trade is causing concern everywhere. More and more frequently questions are asked in the House of Commons, and on July 8 there was a debate on arms sales. Fifty Labour MPs recently tabled an Early Day Motion rejecting Great Britain's growing involvement in the arms export trade, 'a policy which stimulates the arms race, prevents peaceful settlements in many of the world's trouble spots and contravenes Labour's principles.' The Motion called for a 'reversal of this policy and for the resources devoted to the arms trade to be redeployed so as to help our export trade in non-military equipment and provide for the real needs of the Third World.'

Facts concerning arms trading were the subject of a special study by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in November 1971 which brought to light a great deal of material not generally known to the public. This background information, updated to include material covering the period up to 1972, was issued in an abridged version earlier this year*. It gives chilling information about sales from the principle arms exporters (the US, USSR, UK, France, Italy, West Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and Canada) to the countries of Africa (including South Africa), Latin America and Asia. The increase is alarming. Though it does not, because of the period it covers, take into account the Chilean situation nor the most recent sales to Middle East countries, it nevertheless gives abundant information not only to students of defence policy but also to all who are concerned about finding some way of limiting arms sales to the Third World.

It is particularly useful background to those concerned about the level and purpose of military spending in South Africa. South Africa is planning a further increase in military expenditure again this year. Great Britain was always one of the Western powers with

* *The Arms Trade with the Third World*, edited by John Stares, *Penguin*, 362 pp, £1.

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which South Africa has been closely aligned, and there has in the past been a great deal of co-operation in military matters.

Despite the United Nations resolutions passed in 1963, which banned the sale of arms, and equipment to produce them, to South Africa, and though the Labour government of 1964 announced a national embargo, the embargo excluded existing contracts and Britain has since continued at least to supply spares. However, as a traditional arms supplier to South Africa, we have now been replaced by France, who not only supplies weapons through direct sales but has helped to set up arms factories in that country.

Opponents of apartheid have long been demanding an end to all military and naval links with South Africa after the termination of the Simonstown Agreement but the British government has insisted on retaining the right to use the docking and other facilities which the base affords on a customer basis. Though this sounds innocent enough, it now seems clear that there exists a much deeper military collaboration between the two countries. As a member of Nato Britain helped to establish the military communications system at Silvermine, called Project Advokaat, one of a series of projects undertaken by South Africa to expand its defence role in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans and promote a closer military understanding with the major Western powers. The communications system provides up-to-the-minute information on all maritime traffic from the Cape to North America, South America, the South Pole region and India, as well as surveillance over the entire African continent.

Whilst Nato has strenuously denied that it has any direct links with South Africa, and individual governments have insisted that Nato can in any event have no dealings with that country since it falls below the Tropic of Cancer, it seems clear that there are serious moves in Western defence circles to treat Simonstown as a Nato base, and raises questions for the British public as to how far equipment and spare parts originating from Britain are sent via Nato for use in the Advokaat system.

The use of Simonstown in this way, whilst it would be said by the Nato powers to be to combat an alleged threat from an increase in size of the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean, in fact helps the minority white regime of Pretoria to preserve apartheid and to be armed against any moves by the independent African states towards the emancipation of African peoples.

It will be difficult to resist efforts by the independent African countries to buy arms, which many can ill afford, whilst we are

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directly or indirectly assisting South Africa to maintain and increase her strength; and we must therefore keep up the pressure to stop arms going to that regime.

Britain may pay lip service to our ban on the export of arms to South Africa, but whilst she continues to oppose any mandatory arms embargo by the United Nations her motives will remain in doubt.

PORTUGAL AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC AID

James Callaghan, Foreign Secretary, answering Emlyn Hooson MP in the House of Commons, reported in *Hansard*, June 25, 1975

Mr Hooson: Is it correct that the right hon Gentleman finds himself greatly inhibited in initiating any foreign policy moves because of the present rate of inflation? Does he find that rate an intolerable hindrance to taking major steps in foreign policy?

Mr Callaghan: I am being tempted on to Tom Tiddler's ground. The answer is a mixed one. Britain's view is taken very seriously by your colleagues in the Community and other nations in the world. At the same time, I cannot depart from what I said on the 8 o'clock news—I do not know whether anybody listened to it—[*Interruption*]. I am glad that I had an audience. I said that of course the impact of inflation weakened our ability to take initiatives in foreign affairs. It weakens it in many ways. It weakens the respect with which we are listened to if our affairs do not seem to be under proper management, and it limits the assistance we can give when there are a number of desirable ends at stake.

For example, we must now consider the question of aid to succour democracy in Portugal. I should like Britain to be in a position in which we could ensure that Portugal followed a democratic path by assistance from outside, if such a thing is possible. But how can I look my right hon Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the eye and ask him for large sums at present? I give that as an example. There are many other illustrations of that kind.

Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, interviewed by Mario Ventura Henriques in *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, June 21, 1975

M Henriques: Within the perspective of a socialist Portugal, such as has been put forward by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA),

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do you think that help from countries with social-democratic governments could in reality contribute to our country's reaching its true political and economic independence?

Dr Cunhal: So far, we have not seen those countries where there are social-democratic governments in power hurrying much to help the new democratic Portugal.

It is also necessary to have a clear idea of the meaning of 'economic help from those countries'. Does it mean investments and loans from private firms? Does it mean support from the state? Portugal is interested in economic and trade relations with all countries in the world, including naturally those where social-democratic governments are in power. What we are most interested in is not so much the help as the development of normal relations with mutual respect of interests.

Our true national independence will be reached through the struggle of our people. What we have the right to demand is that other countries should not interfere in our internal life, should not attempt to direct our political life, should not try to control our economy, but should in fact respect our national sovereignty and independence.

M Henriques: Do you think that the Portuguese people are sufficiently prepared to accept socialism without having to go through a phase of social-democracy which some people advocate as the necessary intermediate stage? What in your opinion does 'social-democracy' represent from a political-economic point of view?

Dr Cunhal: Social-democracy is not a stage towards socialism, but is a policy of consolidation of capitalism, although it may be temporary or regional. A social-democratic regime in Portugal—if ever that were possible—would mean the interruption of the present revolutionary process and the return of the political and economic power of big capital. Our people will only be able to head towards socialism if they reject social-democratic policies and if they continue to follow the original Portuguese revolutionary process. In present conditions, the driving force of the process leading us towards socialism is the alliance between the Portuguese people and the MFA. Social-democratic policies are incompatible with what has already been called 'Portuguese socialism'. This 'Portuguese socialism' means that, although we have to keep true to the universal traits without which socialism is not possible, the solutions that will be found in Portugal for the political, economic and social problems related to the construction of socialism will be different from solutions found in other countries.

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'OFF THE RECORD'

Peter Zinkin

MR Harold Wilson's decision to end the routine lobby briefings is not the step towards more open government that some claimed it to be. There will be no greater access to information about cabinet meetings or the discussions on present or future policies. The line up of cabinet ministers on the various issues will largely remain a matter for speculation in which a large part is played by their known right-wing or left-wing stances, and that is not always a reliable guide.

Much has been made of the promised on-the-record and probably televised press conferences which Mr Wilson has intimated he and other ministers will address. Perhaps by the time this is being read, Mr Denis Healey with the Prime Minister will have held their public press conferences to explain the decisions they have taken to deal with the economy and wages.

There is nothing new in such on-the-record, televised press conferences. It is not so long ago that Mr Wilson was himself pouring scorn on what he said were presidential type press conferences which Mr Edward Heath, then Prime Minister, was holding in Lancaster House. There, in the televised glamour of the gold and white chandeliered rooms he would pronounce on the latest twist in his government's policy of confrontation with the trade unions in the attempt to enforce his wage restriction policies.

Ministerial on-the-record press conferences, to explain a new bill or some new decision, have almost invariably followed 'lobby briefings', but these have seldom markedly differed from each other. Whether in private or in public, Tory and Labour ministers and spokesmen meet the press to put over their case in the hope that their audience will rush into print with their views. But, if by ending the parliamentary lobby practice of the last forty years, Mr Wilson believes he will get a better press, fairer treatment of his government's case, his move could be self defeating.

The issue then is as to the role of the press in furthering the aims of its big business and/or millionaire owners, to keep Britain safe for private enterprise, including working for the return of a Tory government during elections and developing pressures to bolster the right wing to impose Tory type policies when there is a Labour government.

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Time after time Labour leaders and governments have complained about the biased treatment of the press and broadcasting, and have run away from the need to face up to this issue. Mr Harold Wilson has been among the main complainers during his 1964-70 government, in the intervening period until he again became prime minister last year, and since. Many Labour MPs and trade union leaders, not only on the left, complain about the Tory press, but remain to be convinced that something can and should be done to deal with this question.

Experience during twenty-nine years as a lobby correspondent leads me to the conclusion that the latest unilateral decision imposed by the Prime Minister will not remedy the situation. Nor will it make the task of a left-wing lobby journalist any easier. The problems of getting the essential information for passing on to the reader may, if anything, be more difficult.

At the government level, discrimination has been exercised against the *Morning Star*, *Tribune* and even the Labour Party's own *Labour Weekly*, as most of us know, in the matter of government advertising. While hundreds of thousands of pounds have been ladled out to the millionaire press, a fair share of what is known as 'town crier' advertisements are denied to other papers. No information from such sources regarding speed limits on the roads, social security or other changes appear in paid advertisements but they do appear in the news columns, which is not the same thing.

Yet that cash would ease their financial problems without ties, and help expand their news services to the labour movement and their readers. These papers have obstacles to overcome which do not affect the Tory or right-wing Labour press. The *Morning Star* does not share the *Daily Mirror*'s hot line to No 10 Downing Street, nor that of other papers.

And so it would be a mistake for those on the left who do understand the importance of the printed word for the labour movement to rejoice over what will probably be a temporary breach. The private enterprise press with their larger parliamentary staffs will continue to have access to their right-wing Labour, and indeed some left, sources as well as the usual Tory official and unofficial informants.

Private groups will continue to have their special briefings; Tories will carry on with their 'guidance' to the selected few; right-wing Labour leaders will develop their old special contacts. The normal contacts between lobby journalists and MPs and ministers will continue. Leaks will not be plugged.

Among political correspondents there are deeply politically

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committed journalists who aspire to become Tory MPs. Indeed one, George Gardiner MP, was, until his recent election for the safe Tory seat of Reigate, the *Thomson Press* chief lobby correspondent. Others are, or have been, Tory councillors; and Joe Haines was a Labour councillor at the same time as being an able lobby correspondent. He has since been Mr Wilson's press secretary in and out of government for some years.

In announcing the end of lobby briefings, Mr Haines made clear that one main reason was that some of its members failed to observe the 'non-attributable' rule. That is, or was, the practice of ministers and spokesmen being able to speak, but without the fact that they had imparted certain information or views being made public. It is a practice employed for other journalist groups such as the diplomatic, education, agriculture and industrial correspondents.

For government and opposition leaders it was a convenient way of talking to a body of press people to fly kites, to test reactions to new decisions or policies in the making, or to prepare people for what was about to be publicly announced. There was the well-known tactic of allowing pre-budget speculation to develop forecasts of very harsh decisions, so that, when the people found the measures were slightly easier than they had been led to believe, their anger was tempered.

No one could blame any source for being misleading—or even for being accurate. Whether the press was helped more than the government is a controversial matter. That the government has hitherto found it valuable is significant, and none more than the Tory governments.

When, during the 1964-70 Labour government, Mr Wilson thought he could improve his 'press', he started what became known as the 'white commonwealth'. This was a hand-picked group of top lobby correspondents from papers ranging from the *Times*, *Telegraph* and *Mail* to the *Daily Mirror*. But, although at the time chairman of the Lobby Journalists' Association, the writer, as *Morning Star* representative, was excluded from this favoured group, as was the *Daily Express*. There were leaks from these secret meetings which soon became exposed in public, forcing Mr Wilson to drop the briefings, which included at least one gathering at Chequers.

So they were ended, but other lobbies continued. When the late Mr Iain Macleod was a Tory cabinet minister, he had regular Wednesday evening chats with a few senior lobby journalists from the *Times*, *Telegraph* and *Mail* and others. It has been written that these were occasions for the exchange of views and news, a two-way

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process where the Tory government gained knowledge of the reactions to its past, present and future policies. Whatever the facts, there is no doubt that politicians and journalists will talk together.

In his recent letter to the lobby chairman, Mr Haines made clear that he and his staff would continue to be ready to answer any questions put to them over the telephone as in the past. There is no reason to doubt that they will do this, but missing will be questioning from journalists which gave hints and clues as to what was brewing. One was helped to find one's way through the maze of rumours, speculations, facts and those tales put about to steer one off stories considered dangerous to government or opposition. But this is not an insuperable problem.

The main question brought to the fore by the current publicity about the ending of the lobby briefings is the need to 'democratise' the press so that it is no longer dominated by a few very wealthy men or groups. The way to more open government lies in strengthening the left-wing press. At present, and as far as the daily press is concerned, it means greater aid for the *Morning Star* in extending its circulation, improving its finances and aiding its journalists in their duties.

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

At this moment more than ever before there is need of strength and firmness. Not the retreat from socialism, but the advance on socialism, is the line of direction of the working class. The present economic situation can only be handled at all by handling it boldly. . . .

The line of retreat, which is the line of the right wing, leads to no recovery, to no hope of recovery (for the objective economic conditions under capitalism preclude it), but only to further decline, to lower and yet lower wages, to the decay and rotting of slow starvation. The line of advance, on the other hand, can only be the line of a united class advance. The economic basis of the old sectional trade unionism is gone. On the old lines, the right-wing leaders are correct in saying that the situation is 'unfavourable' for a conflict. What they fail to realise is that the more they retreat because of the unfavourable situation, the more unfavourable the situation will become. The dilemma is due to the initial error of regarding the situation in capitalist terms of sectional commercial interests, and not in terms of class strategy. They are right in saying that the united class advance will necessarily involve an attack on the existing capitalist control and organisation of industry. This is precisely the reason why the united class advance is the right strategy.

(From 'Notes of the Month' by RPD, *Labour Monthly*, August 1925)

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION

John Purton

THIS time round the cycle of boom and recession, the world capitalist economy has increased its trend towards deepening the recession into fully fledged slump. The post-second world war dash for growth, which produced the endemic and growing inflation, has ended in a deepening general state of crisis, which promises a much more critical future for capitalism. This time round British capitalism, suffering powerful effects from the relative decline of British imperialism in the world and from mistaken attempts to prolong its life by both Tory and right-wing Labour, faces a fundamental struggle for survival.

Amidst crisis, right-wing Labour moves increasingly towards the full brutal application of capitalist remedies, instead of the alternative working class ones, opening the road to socialism. The media, in full war-cry against working class struggle and policies, constantly repeats the stale arguments of capitalist economic theory in formulations of varying degrees of harshness.

Let us take two prominent variations. One argument is that wages should be cut in order to prevent both unemployment and inflation from growing. If wages are cut, employers will be able to afford to keep up their present labour force and avoid being priced out of the export market. Behind this version is the capitalist 'micro-economic' theory that firms take on workers to the point where it would only reduce profits to employ more; only an increase in productivity or a rise in selling price could enable them to employ the same number of workers at a higher wage.

Another variation is to suggest that wages and social expenditure by the state should be cut in order to reduce employment and thereby reduce the total demand for the national product. This would diminish inflation both by reducing the pressure of total demand on total supply and by releasing resources to increase investment and total supply. The resultant unemployment would reinforce wage cuts by forcing workers to accept them. Behind this argument is macro-economic (neo-Keynesian) theory, looking at the economy in terms of total demand and total supply, total demand being determined by the total of incomes.

Now consider briefly the first of these variations, before turning mainly to the other. Wage cuts will certainly tend to decrease demand

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and employment on the home market. As for the export market, the last year's holding up of export earnings should not cause any illusion; it was continuing world capitalist inflation and the depreciating pound which enabled export prices to be raised without increase in volume. With world trade hit by major recession and with the necessity to stop the fall of the pound at some point before all the hot money runs away, Britain cannot rely on further depreciation of the pound to maintain employment through exports, while domestic demand declines. This argument is one for increasing unemployment. It also overlooks the inflationary hangover from the past and the further bout of world capitalist inflation that will come if capitalist economies spend their way at all quickly out of the recession. If world capitalist economy stagnates, this will mean deeper unemployment.

This is *not* a cure for the inflationary tendencies that will remain and will be renewed. It *is* a policy of more or less unemployment.

Now for the second variation: cut both consumption and employment, a more ruthless recipe. This is in new guise the old spontaneous corrective that capitalism in overheated boom applied to itself in the past. Boom produced instability and crisis; slump forced costs down, including wages; and capitalism regrouped, eliminating its weaker elements. This new government policy variant of the old spontaneous corrective of capitalism in crisis however neglects several points. It takes no account of monopoly power which stood behind inflation and will seek to maintain prices unless the collapse of demand and employment is very considerable. It avoids indicating that low employment raises costs per unit through the forgoing of economies of full or near-full capacity production; wages and employment would be forced down even further. It avoids indicating the increase in unproductive state expenditure in the form of unemployment pay and benefits without any corresponding output. Above all, both variants obscure the real causes of inflation and thus the nature of the cure for the endemic sickness of present state monopoly capitalism.

Post-second world war capitalism faced a deepened general crisis, losing ground to socialism, to liberated former colonial peoples and to the growing organisation of the working class. It overcame this for a quarter of a century by fast economic growth and accumulation of capital. This was the result of growing monopoly power supported by increased state intervention and the growing network of finance capital. This succeeded under the umbrella of US hegemony, with the instrument of the almighty dollar as world money and apparently bottomless source of investment funds. It enjoyed a plentiful supply of labour and materials. The sustained dash for growth, however,

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prepared its own destruction, through monopolistic forcing up of prices, through pressure on fuel and material prices, through over-expansion of state expenditure and of money supply. Consequent accelerating inflation spelt the end of fast growth in world capitalist economic crisis. And this outcome will place a brake upon future economic expansion.

Britain in particular suffered from this world-wide capitalist inflation. The burden of maintaining the City of London as financial centre, of maintaining Britain's armed 'imperial might', of remaining next to the US as a source for foreign investment: all this undermined investment at home and held back the growth of productivity. So, while demand pressed ever forward, supply lagged behind. Japan and Western European rivals were far more successful in this respect. This was bound not only to deepen Britain's relative crisis, but to enhance the rate of inflation.

What is the future of British capitalism either under Tory or right-wing Labour rule?

World capitalism seems to have concluded the period of relatively fast economic growth without substantial crisis and to be entering a new period of increasing instability. Either an attempted resumption of fast growth will founder in an even deeper inflationary crisis, or a cautious recovery will spell stagnation, or there will be a deeper depression without recovery first, or a new period of restricted stability will be inaugurated on the basis of more centralised, more dictatorial state monopoly capitalism, or the road to socialism must be firmly embarked upon.

In all of these situations except the last, with Britain remaining at the mercy of capitalist policies, practised either by the Tories or by right-wing Labour, she is likely to continue her relative decline with heavy unemployment and inflation combined. What is necessary at this turning point to cure slumpflation and economic decline is the firm inauguration of an alternative economic policy, based upon working class strength and popular unity. This must aim at taking over from the industrial and banking monopolies, at planning and controlling industrial development, at directing investment into the key areas of the national economy, at controlling movements of capital, at planning new international trade developments, at defending the living standards and democratic rights of the people and ending the rule and exploitation of the monopolies. Based on an anti-monopoly, popular alliance, the working class movement can, by such a policy, decisively open up the road to socialism, to planned growth without inflation, in the people's interests.

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Cuba for Beginners

CUBA FOR BEGINNERS is mostly about the US (Uncle Sam) occupation of Cuba, the puppets (mostly Batistans) who ran it for them, the struggle of the people of Cuba, Castro and his guerrillas (Beards), sugar, and the fight to build a socialist economy once Uncle Sam had been kicked out.

The Mexican author/artist, Rius, is working in practically virgin soil in attempting a political history in comic strip form.

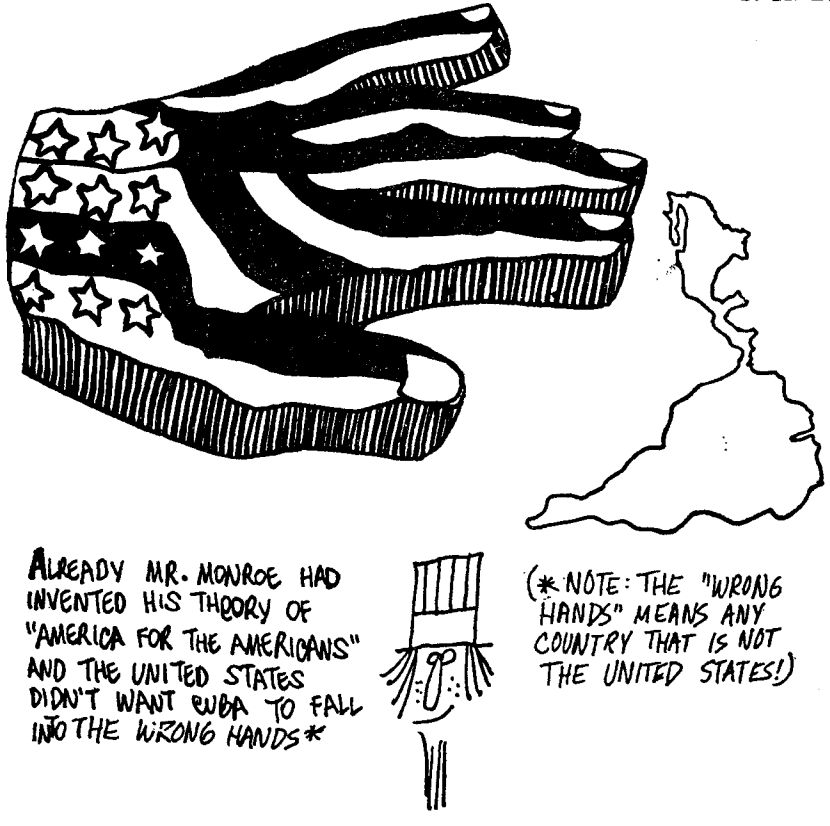
The 'beginner' will certainly know a lot about the history of Cuba by the time he reaches the last frame. He will also know a lot about the methods used by imperialism to enslave and hang on to its colonies.

The book is particularly relevant to millions of workers in Latin America, who will see the parallel between Cuba and themselves.

There is no BLATT!!! WHAM!!! of the American comic strip, and the author warns that his work is not intended to make revolution look easy.

The 'beginner' will laugh and learn. The student of politics, interested in getting complex ideas across to a wider audience, can also learn a great deal from Rius.

S. H. B.


ALREADY MR. MONROE HAD INVENTED HIS THOORY OF "AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS" AND THE UNITED STATES DIDN'T WANT CUBA TO FALL INTO THE WRONG HANDS*
(*NOTE: THE "WRONG HANDS" MEANS ANY COUNTRY THAT IS NOT THE UNITED STATES!)

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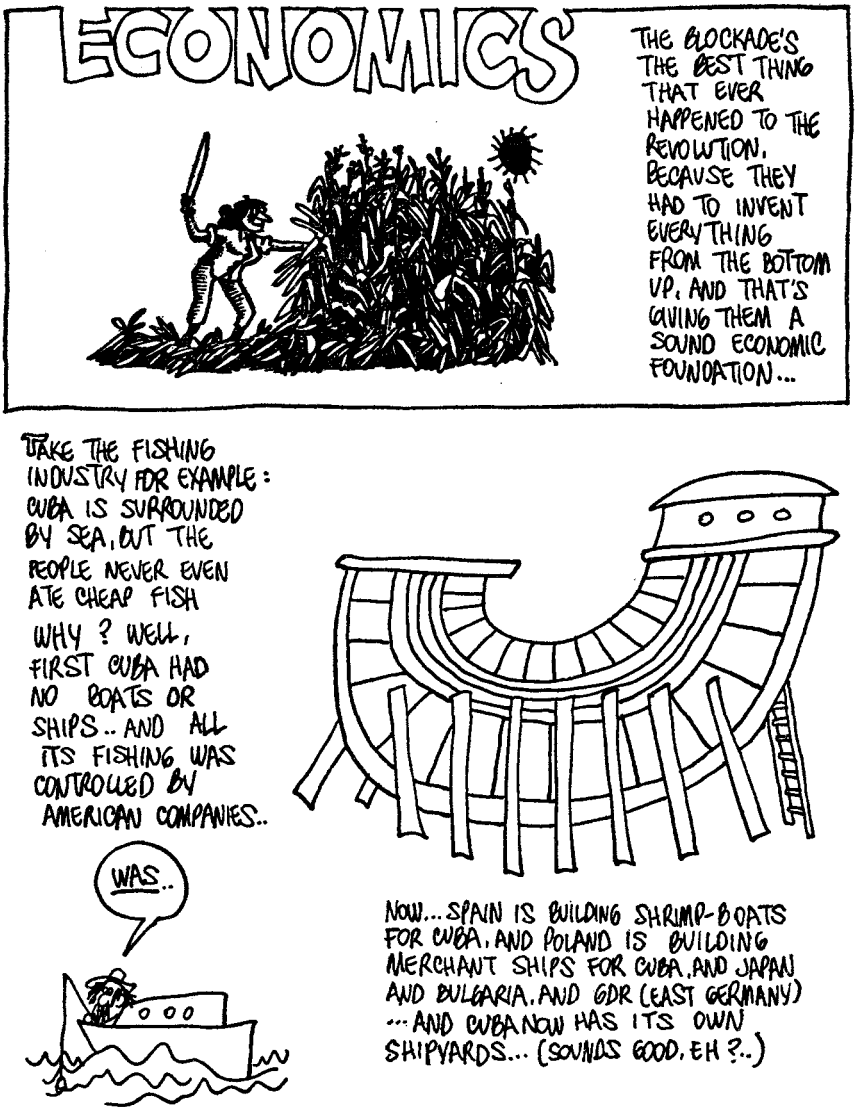
ECONOMICS
THE BLOCKADE'S THE BEST THING THAT EVER HAPPENED TO THE REVOLUTION, BECAUSE THEY HAD TO INVENT EVERYTHING FROM THE BOTTOM UP. AND THAT'S GIVING THEM A SOUND ECONOMIC FOUNDATION...
TAKE THE FISHING INDUSTRY FOR EXAMPLE: CUBA IS SURROUNDED BY SEA, BUT THE PEOPLE NEVER EVEN ATE CHEAP FISH
WHY ? WELL, FIRST CUBA HAD NO BOATS OR SHIPS.. AND ALL ITS FISHING WAS CONTROLLED BY AMERICAN COMPANIES..
WAS..
NOW... SPAIN IS BUILDING SHRIMP-BOATS FOR CUBA, AND POLAND IS BUILDING MERCHANT SHIPS FOR CUBA, AND JAPAN AND BULGARIA, AND GDR (EAST GERMANY) ... AND CUBA NOW HAS ITS OWN SHIPYARDS... (SOUNDS GOOD, EH ?..)

Cuba for Beginners
Eduardo Rius
Writers & Readers Publishing Co-operative, 70 pp, 60p

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SOCIAL PROGRESS IN IRAQ

Adel Haba*

IRAQ has inherited a heavy burden from the days of colonialist domination which lasted until the revolution of July 1958. During that period Iraq was a semi-feudal, semi-colonised country with industrial development non-existent, and agriculture suffering from the effects of the backward, semi-feudal relations which were hindering its development. The oil extraction industry was an exception, being linked directly to the interests of the oil monopolies.

After the revolution of July 1958, a Land Reform Law was passed and the process of economic development started. In spite of the fact that the Land Reform Law was seriously limited to meet the interests and mentality of the national bourgeoisie, the Law met stiff resistance from the feudal lords and other reactionary forces. Industrial planning was also hindered, particularly those projects which the socialist countries undertook to build under joint agreements with Iraq, with the source of sabotage often coming from the state machinery under the control of the national bourgeoisie.

The levels at which the economy was being developed and modernised remained low during the ten years after 1958, and were not in proportion to the potential and the sources of income which Iraq had at its disposal. In addition the economy remained basically dependent on the petroleum extraction sector, the royalties of which were under the control of the oil monopolies. Even after the legislation of Law 80 (1962) which returned to national sovereignty 99 per cent of the oil-rich lands, the oil production industry remained in the hands of the monopoly oil companies together with oil-fields which had been producing oil before the law was passed. Because the oil income was the chief source of hard currency, and provided the major part of the country's budget, all major projects concerning economic development were dependent on it. Because oil production was under the direct control of the oil monopolies, they often used it as a political weapon to pressurise the government of the day into adopting policies contrary to the interests of the Iraqi people.

The main and urgent task in the economic field was to free the Iraqi oil wealth from domination by the multinational monopolies. The Iraqi government, supported by the popular masses and its political parties, nationalised the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) in

* Adel Haba is the representative of the Iraqi Communist Party on the Editorial Board of the journal, *World Marxist Review*.

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June 1972, and then nationalised the interests and shares of the United States, Holland and Portugal in the Basrah Oil Company. This was preceded by raising the level of the activities of the state-owned National Oil Company which had been formed a few years earlier and which started oil extraction processes with assistance from the Soviet Union and Hungary. Iraq now controls 85 per cent of oil production operations in the country, and it is essential to remember at this point that, during the process of nationalisation, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries gave enormous support to Iraq in its confrontation with the oil monopolies, a factor which certainly helped in the success of nationalisation. With the help of Czechoslovakia, the first stage of the Basrah oil refinery has been built which, when completed, will handle 3.5 million tons of crude oil annually.

In the agricultural field, the Iraqi government legislated a new and more radical Land Reform Law in 1970, and this is being implemented more actively than before. In spite of the fact that the new Land Reform Law is again limited by the framework of the present stage of development in Iraq—the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution—a real struggle is being made in the countryside for full implementation of the Land Reform Law, for the deepening of its content in the interests of agricultural workers and poor peasants and against the growth of the rural bourgeoisie with their ability to limit its influence on the development of the agricultural sector.

Iraq is now directing a greater part of its financial sources of income (which have increased as a result of nationalisation and increases in oil prices) towards economic development and the building of various economic, industrial and agricultural projects. This is in contrast to oil producing countries which are investing (recycling) part of their income into the markets of the advanced capitalist countries.

During the past two years unemployment has decreased, the gross national income has increased, and the productive branches of the economy have grown at higher rates than ever before. At the same time the role of both the public and co-operative sectors of the economy have been consolidated. State-owned farms and agricultural co-operative societies have been expanded. The state now controls 80 per cent of foreign trade, with its target being total control, and it also controls half the internal trade.

The central task in the economic field facing the progressive government and the country's leading political force, the Patriotic and Progressive National Front proclaimed in 1973, is to strengthen

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and consolidate the socio-economic base of the regime in line with the National Charter (the Front's programme) which rejects the capitalist road of development.

Without any doubt this process of rapid and far-reaching economic development will be accompanied by problems which will need to be tackled, such problems for example as the shortage of services in certain fields. A report by the Iraqi Communist Party on January 1, 1975, emphasised the need to 'adopt central planning of the economy and society and revise the structure and forms of action of the existing planning apparatus and its cadres, and also take into account the participation of the progressive parties and mass organisations during the discussion stage of the plan before its adoption in the final form.'

The report also stressed 'the importance of the planned expansion of co-operation and economic co-ordination with other Arab countries and with the socialist countries, and, in conjunction with this, the development of means of co-ordination with Comecon . . . also with the independent developing countries.'

Recognising the fact that the objective of any economic development is to raise the standard of living of the masses, stress has been laid on the need to increase public services and make them more generally available and also to revise the minimum wages and increase them in accordance with price increases.

A wide, rapid and balanced development of the Iraqi economy not only requires big human and material resources, which are available, but also needs central planning on a scientific basis, with efficient and selfless administrative elements who can meet the aspirations of the working people. It also needs consistent efforts to achieve economic independence and reduce economic ties with the outside capitalist market which is suffering from chronic crises. This allows for the expansion of economic and trading relations with the socialist countries which are playing an important role in helping our country to build and advance its national economy. There is no denying the potential for co-operation with some among the capitalist countries, in order to make use of their scientific and technological achievements to serve Iraq's economic development, but, as the report quoted above points out, 'the experience of developing countries in this field emphasises the need to place certain well-defined limits and regulations so that the utmost possible benefit can be obtained without interference in the internal affairs of the country, with respect for its independence and national sovereignty, and safeguarding and deepening the progressive course in Iraq.'

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TRADE UNION EDUCATION

J.R. Shanley*

UNTIL it was taken over by the TUC in 1964, with all its faults the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) stood for independent working class education. That educational approach did not die: it was deliberately killed. TUC education was to conform to the outlook of the then General Secretary, George Woodcock. His philosophy was outlined in a recent 'Profile' in the *Times*. Holding honours degrees in philosophy and political economy, he joined the staff of the TUC 'as an academic and professional'. As he saw it, his job 'was to prepare briefs for the General Council . . . that would enable them to deal with a minister supported by briefs from his civil servants, some of the best brains in the country.' His favourite aphorism was 'We have left Trafalgar Square' because, in his view, 'trade union power . . . rested in being in touch with ministers and having the capacity to deal with them.' If that view had not been accepted, he states, he 'would never have been at the TUC . . . there would have been no place for me.' He was 'not so much bothered about the character of the government as the ability to meet the government as ministers,' and under his guidance the TUC 'no longer sought to make public declarations intended to be critical or embarrassing to the government of the day.' Although his philosophy was refuted in practice when the TUC led the return to Trafalgar Square to defeat Heath's Industrial Relations Act, it nevertheless remained the foundation of the TUC's educational work.

The NCLC structure by then dismantled, in 1969 the General Council, after a ritual genuflexion to the need for 'unions to have a decisive voice in regard to content and methods', advised Congress that 'courses based on day release and block release [are] clearly the most promising basis for the growth of shop stewards' training.' As to finance: 'Payment of wages by the employers offers the most satisfactory solution,' and employers were to be encouraged by Training Boards meeting the cost in 'whole or in part' (TUC 1969 Report, p 293).

This autumn that programme is to be launched on a nationwide scale in technical colleges, polytechnics, colleges of education and other educational establishments. Not surprising then that a 'complete set of teaching material for tutors and students primarily for use in trade union courses' has come on the market. It is against the

* J. R. Shanley was Assistant General Secretary of the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union from 1948 to 1972.

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background of this final development of the TUC education programme prepared since 1964 that the 'complete set' needs to be examined.

It comprises five books* prepared by the Curriculum Development Committee of the Society of Industrial Tutors. As *The Key Skills* is a book in which the editors and the authors of the other four books fully explain and expand their views, I turned to it first. The editor introduces an essay by Tony Topham entitled 'Approaches to Workplace Organisation in Industrial Studies' which, we are informed, 'will for the student, the tutor and the academic' set the shop steward into a 'wider social and political perspective'. The depth of the perspective is revealed when (on the basis that someone named H. Ryman wrote that 'Lenin went so far as to claim that "trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie" ') students, and presumably tutors and academics, are informed that 'this remains the socialist criticism of the trade unions to the present day.' Of course this was never socialist criticism, for Lenin wrote:

> The spontaneous labour movement is pure and simple trade unionism . . . and *pure and simple trade unionism* [emphasis added] means the ideological subordination of the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence our task, the task of Social Democracy is to combat spontaneity.

In short, Lenin saw it as the task of socialists to educate trade unionists to a consciousness of the reality of capitalism, so that they would become socialists. But how did Lenin see the trade unions as organs of economic struggle? He wrote:

> Any trade union secretary, an English one for instance, helps the workers to conduct the economic struggle, helps to expose factory abuses, explains the injustice of the laws and the measures which hamper the freedom of strikes and the freedom to picket, to warn all and sundry that a strike is proceeding at a certain factory . . . in a word, every trade union secretary conducts and helps to conduct the economic struggle against the employers and the government.

This description any honest active non-socialist trade unionist (and there are many thousands of them) would recognise and accept. Tony Topham has to distort 'socialist criticism' of the *limitations* of simple trade union outlook to conceal the reality that trade unionists still today struggle against 'abuses', for the 'right to strike' and for 'freedom to picket', and that these simple trade union

* *The Organised Worker*, Tony Topham, *The Activist's Handbook*, Bob Houlton, *Calculating*, Joyce and Bill Hutton, and *Statistics for Bargainers*, Karl Hedderwick: *Arrow*, 96pp, 75p each; and *The Key Skills*, edited by Ed Coker and Geoffrey Stuttard, *Arrow*, 168pp, £2.75.

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traditional rights are now under challenge. He has to bias his educational curriculum accordingly. For him the 'aim' of industrial relations is to 'achieve a "mature" structure of collective bargaining within which conflicts are resolved without fundamental change.' His commitment is to 'humanistic goals of freedom and reason'. Even non-socialist trade unionists will recognise that these words are a precise summary of the lengthy speeches being delivered by Sir Keith Joseph and the declared objectives of 'Aims for Freedom and Enterprise'.

Topham incidentally criticises 'wage theories' but deftly avoids not only Marx but Smith, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, etc. He notes that 'from the end of the nineteenth century onwards economists tended to abandon their earlier studies of the whole political and economic system.' He follows that example. The whole 'political and economic system' is no business for shop stewards—they are shop floor bargainers *not* potential leaders and future policy formers. The common denominator of the 'complete teaching' kit is that there is no crisis of society—so no need to look at 'society as a whole'—although that crisis now challenges the very existence of the right to bargain. I need do no more than pluck a gem of academic perspicacity from Geoffrey Stuttard's essay, 'Studying Together in a Social Context'. He writes:

> Superficial and sometimes even fundamental social and political changes may take place *during the course* [emphasis added]. This rarely occurs in other subjects. Laws, institutions and personalities seem less stable than they were. This is stimulating and ensures topicality and involvement *but it can be a distraction* [emphasis added].

Why such fundamental social change now takes place within the duration of a course is precisely the question that perplexes statesmen as well as shop stewards but this does not occur to this tutor of tutors!

Ed Coker whilst at the bench made the discovery that 'managers always had the facts at their finger tips,' so it dawned on him that 'knowledge is power.' This made him a diligent student. Now he writes books, confirmed by his learning that 'knowledge *itself* is power' (Francis Bacon). Pity he did not read a little trade union history before he wrote his contribution 'On being a Trade Union Student'. There are several books on my shelves whose authors go out of their way to let me know that Will Thorne was illiterate. Snowden, of course, declared Thorne's ignorance was a disgrace to parliament. But, despite this tremendous handicap, Will Thorne could see clearly what men of conventional learning could not see,

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or sought to obscure. His leadership of the gas workers was the first step to the raising of the unskilled from utter degradation and led to the foundation of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. The subsequent entry of the organised unskilled workers transformed the TUC.

If he had opened a general history book, which I take leave to doubt, Ed Coker would have discovered that, on the eve of the French revolution, there was a great ferment of knowledge, and 'ideas' gave battle to 'ideas'. Feudalism was again and again overthrown (mentally). Constitutional monarchs were put on thrones to dispense bourgeois laws (still in the mind). But these men of knowledge (whose ideas even liberal historians accept reflected class interests) fell silent and crept away like whipped curs when the workers of Paris rose and overthrew Louis, the *real* absolute feudal monarch. But that is not the sort of knowledge to be given to shop stewards!

The problem of power is, of course, central to any trade union studies. Bob Houlton turns to it in *The Activist's Handbook*. Need I do more than quote? He writes:

> Over the past fifteen years I have listened to professors, politicians, union officials, councillors and shop stewards talking about power. In nine cases out of ten they have talked utter rubbish . . . many people connect power with Attila the Hun, Stalin, Frankenstein or Hitler. *These vivid images are a barrier to clear thinking* [emphasis added]. . . . To know what power is really about, think of your mother or your father. Their power may be small today but at one time it was tremendous . . . *social power is the ability to affect another person's behaviour.*

Such is the utter rubbish of academic illiteracy that has been prepared by the Society of Industrial Tutors for Shop Stewards' Courses being organised under the auspices of the TUC. In fairness, lest they be judged by the company they keep, *Calculating* by Joyce and Bill Hutton is excellent straight maths for adults, angled to give every help to busy shop stewards. Karl Hedderwick does an equally good job on statistics and cheerfully accepts that 'any collection of figures can be arranged to show contradictory results.'

During over forty years as a full time trade union officer I consistently combatted the anti-intellectual trend which is strong in our movement. I sought the fullest extension of trade union education. This is no contradiction to what I have written. There is an academic intellectualism that is simultaneously élitist and subservient: élitist towards the working class, seeing trade union power not in unity and action, but in the 'best brains' being in touch with ministers advised by 'best brains', and subservient to bourgeois ideas

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and so not bothered about the 'character of the government', and seeking 'positively' to resolve conflict 'without fundamental change'. Such is the education peddled in this complete teaching kit.

Surely this curriculum is evidence that the TUC should look again at the course and content of the education started upon in 1964, when the concept of 'independent working class education' was killed. It is time to take 'decisive control of content and method' again, even if it means abandoning day release, with wages paid by employers encouraged by training board grants, and returning to education for emancipation.

HIGHER EDUCATION CUTS

Reg Bird*

AS yet another attack is mounted on the living standards of the majority of the British people, to protect and prop up an outworn capitalist system, workers in universities face especially acute problems. For one thing is certain—if wages policies, overt or covert, bite anywhere they bite particularly hard in those parts of the public sector particularly dependent on government money. This has been the experience in the past and it is the situation now. Long before Mr Healey announced his new dose of old policies the hardening attitude could be felt in some areas, and nowhere more than the universities. Not only are they faced with wage cutting ruthlessly enforced; this is accompanied by drastically reduced public expenditure which in turn affects all job and promotion opportunities, striking at the careers and future prospects of all staff concerned.

This takes the forms of creeping redundancy (i.e. staff leaving and not being replaced) and rationalisation, in that higher-graded posts are merged with lower-paid posts—or not filled at all—whilst the work goes on. Increasingly a sophisticated casualisation, taking the form of fixed term contracts, is introduced. This simply means that well-qualified technical staff, who would normally expect to make a lifetime career in universities, are employed for two or three years only, after which the university concerned may take them on the establishment, may offer another 'fixed term' of similar duration—or simply treat the employment as terminated. Inevitably such contracts contain clauses depriving the employee of any right to redundancy pay, and say something about 'normal employment

* Reg Bird, who writes in his personal capacity, is a National Officer of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs.

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conditions obtaining'. That means the employer can also give the employee the sack before the contract expires—probably with simply a month's notice. This is a situation *Labour Monthly* readers might have in mind next time some university luminary pontificates on television about labour relations! And now to cap all this there are the first small signs of redundancy, real and proper, in what was one of the most stable employment situations imaginable.

These problems, of course, stem from the attack on public expenditure first launched by Anthony Barber in 1973 and continued by Denis Healey. It can be estimated that in the fiscal year 1974-75 universities required some £64 million simply to maintain the value of the recurrent grant, i.e. the annual running cost. There is no guarantee that all or any of this will be available. Indeed, towards the end of last year Mr Prentice had to feed in an emergency £19 million to save many institutions from alleged bankruptcy.

In spite of assurances that jobs will not be affected by these measures, all the evidence is to the contrary. Amongst many other grades of staff British universities employ over 15,000 highly trained technical staff. They work in key areas of research and teaching. Jobs are under threat here as well as in all other sections of university employment. So a key section of our educational system is under attack—an area of activity vital to our prosperity and independence is being eroded and weakened. One might ask why, as yet, there has not been a mighty outcry against this—for, certainly, thriving universities must be as important to Britain in the long run as were UCS, Rolls-Royce, and now BLMC. Part of the answer must lie in the relative newness of the trade union movement in the area. Of all the TUC unions involved only the technicians in ASTMS can be said to be well-organised in terms of members and experience in trade union campaigning. Other unions representing manual, clerical and administrative staff are still developing and have many problems yet to overcome. But essentially the fight to protect this national educational asset must turn around the unions in alliance with students and academics. Here there is a particular problem. Whilst one would expect academics to be right at the heart of a struggle to protect the universities, many in positions of high authority are so closely identified with the 'establishment' in political and ideological terms, that the response, the challenge to attacks on universities, has at best been muted. True, in some limited parts of the country academics, students and trade unionists have and will continue to campaign together to defend our universities. But can one detect in certain high places a supine acceptance of the situation,

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a holding back, a readiness to say 'well, if economies must be made the universities must be prepared to accept their share'?

The point, of course, is that these sort of economies need not and must not be made. They strike at the standard of living, the very jobs, of many, many thousands of university staff whether working technically, administratively or academically. And of course they strike at an area of British society which over the past years has become more progressive under the impact of events and the growing demands for fundamental social change. A united campaign to save the universities from the mauling initiated by Tory Chancellor Barber and continued by right-wing Labour Chancellor Healey (the coalition operating in practice if not in structural terms?) would be a substantial contribution to the developing move for fundamental social change in our time.

WEST GERMAN WITCH HUNT

Hugh Latham

THERE is a growing volume of protest, both in the Federal Republic of Germany and internationally, at the practice known as the *Berufsverbot* (employment ban) being operated by the West German authorities. This employment ban was born in January 1972, exactly four years after the foundation of the German Communist Party, and shortly after the foundation of the Socialist German Working Youth and the Marxist student league, MSB Spartakus, when the presidents of the eleven federal states (*Länder*) met and passed the 'Resolution of the presidents against the appointment of radicals in the public service'. It is clear that with the growth of these three communist organisations and the development of greater political consciousness in the mass of the population, the authorities felt the need for a new means of controlling and intimidating democratic activity.

The resulting practice of *Berufsverbot* has seen an alarming witch hunt develop, which has frighteningly similar features to the persecution of the Nazi period.

The supporters of *Berufsverbot* claim that they are protecting the Constitution. But the Basic Law (Constitution) of the Federal Republic unequivocally, and in various paragraphs, guarantees the right freely to choose an occupation or profession, irrespective of belief or opinion. According to the Basic Law the Federal Constitutional Court alone can ban a political party. The Basic Law in

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spirit and letter prohibits administrative bodies or other courts from indirectly arrogating this power to themselves by declaring members of legal parties to be 'hostile to the Constitution', and excluding them from the public services. In addition, the Basic Law states quite clearly that the activities of the extreme right (old and new Nazis) must be stopped. The Basic Law is then more progressive than the present political practice, and the charge of hostility to the Constitution fits those who advocate *Berufsverbot* rather than their victims.

At first members of the Communist Party and of the MSB Spartakus were excluded from the schools. This prevented them from completing their courses, as practical work is part of their training, but it is now clear that *Berufsverbot* is being extended in two directions.

Firstly, in increasing numbers, members of the Social Democratic Party, of the Liberal Democratic Party, non-Party trade unionists and progressive Christians are being victimised. Often no more evidence can be adduced than a signature to a petition or travel to the GDR, or having stood for election to the student council of a technical college. A case occurred in Bavaria where the ground for dismissal was voluntary residence in a house from which a red flag had been flown, although the victimised person and his flat had no connection whatever with the incident.

Secondly, victimisation is no longer confined to the teaching profession: the ban is being extended to the public training of lawyers, to engineers, to technical assistants in universities, and indeed to all staff in the public service. Soon anyone who wants to weed a university garden will have to have 'constitutional loyalty' clearance.

Various examples of the type of accusation brought against democrats of the left were given in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* of May 8, 1975. Frau Koch-Eng, a school teacher, was summoned to a hearing where the charge was made that in 1972 she had signed a petition to the Munich *Bundestag* deputies demanding ratification of the *Ostverträge* (treaties with the socialist countries). Another school teacher, Frau Grube, was charged with taking part in a demonstration. Her interrogators told her: 'Frau Grube, we know that your father was a communist and that he was in Dachau concentration camp. Of course, we take no notice of family connections, but can you really say that your father has not in any way influenced your upbringing?'

Anyone applying for a job in the public service must give details

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of his or her residence for the past five to ten years. Before the appointment can be made, the applicant is investigated by the *Verfassungsschutz* (political police). They try to turn up anything they can use in places where the applicant has lived: support for any democratic mass action, responsibility for a left-wing leaflet, signature on a petition or just membership of the perfectly legal organisations, the German Communist Party or the MSB Spartakus. If they can establish a 'fact' of this sort, the political police give their opinion that the candidate is not loyal to the Constitution. He or she is then invited to a hearing, the grounds for which are not given and to which the candidate is not allowed to bring a solicitor or friend to help conduct the defence. At this hearing the applicant for the job must prove the accusations to be false. If candidates cannot do this (and how can they, when various actions and opinions are regarded as *a priori* suspect?), it is decided without any proper legal procedure that they can give no guarantees of loyalty to the Constitution and cannot be appointed; in the case of persons already employed, they are dismissed.

In the state of Baden-Württemberg alone, according to a statement by its *Kultusministerium*, up to now 55,000 applicants for jobs have been 'investigated'. In 400 cases 'evidence' led to a hearing. As a result, 40 people have either not been appointed or have been dismissed (*Times*, July 4, 1975). Altogether in the Federal Republic about 400 cases of people being victimised are known, and the number of cases 'investigated' is over half a million. An estimate suggests that about half of those known to have been victimised are members of the German Communist Party. No figure can be given for the total number of people victimised, especially since many unorganised people are intimidated and keep silent, and to appeal is useless.

Regarding the higher courts, it must first be made clear that the majority of the judges sat before 1945—and it cannot be claimed that they have learned anything since then. The reactionary spirit prevailing in West German courts for more than a century has only changed its outward form. Anti-communism, evidenced in hundreds of thousands of savage sentences against Communists in Germany and the occupied countries during Nazi rule, is a major factor. One can instance the judgment of the Federal Constitutional Court (the highest court, whose decisions are final and irreversible) on the Abortion Law, a decision which drives women to backstreet quacks; or the ban by the same court on the old Communist Party of Germany in 1956, still upheld today. The majority of the judges in the Federal

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Constitutional Court are members of the CDU because the method of electing judges gives this party powerful influence.

The Federal Administrative Court (the highest court for disputes concerning the public services, whose judgments can only be overruled by the Federal Constitutional Court) recently rejected the protest of Anne Lenhart, a member of the German Communist Party, against the ban on her employment as a teacher on the grounds that her membership of a radical party raised doubts as to her constitutional loyalty, and it was therefore correct not to employ her. As was reported in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (May 1, 1975), two of the judges delivering the verdict have interesting records. Edmund de Chapeaurouge took part in Nazi 'racial pollution' courts in Hamburg; Rudolf Weber-Lortsch was a member of the Nazi administration of occupied Norway, and later served as an 'SS and Police Leader' in the Ukraine. Yet a week after this judgment a lower administrative court ruled in the case of a member of the National Party (neo-Nazi) that membership of this party was no evidence of hostility to the Constitution.

It is far from rare for judges who were formerly members of the Nazi Party to sentence young people to unemployment because they are carrying on their fathers' fight for democratic rights. Heiner Blasenbrei, an engineer whose grandfather lost his life in a concentration camp, is an example. Blasenbrei, employed in the Water Supply Department in Stuttgart, was sacked because he had been president of the Voltaire Club in Stuttgart, because he is a member of the MSB Spartakus and because 'there was a suspicion that he might be a member of the German Communist Party' (Union of Democratic Lawyers, December 14, 1974).

The political parties in the *Bundestag* cannot be looked to for protection of the Constitution or of democratic rights. The *Bundestag* has, in fact, already given a first reading to a Bill which embodies the anti-constitutional administrative practice of the Employment Ban. But since this practice began, every trade union conference has protested against it, though right-wing social-democratic union leaders have played a rather sorry role. In addition, unions have given legal help to victims of the ban.

Right-wing social-democratic leadership has from the start contributed to establishing Employment Bans. In the five federal *Länder* (out of ten) where Willy Brandt's party is in government, secret investigations and banning from public employment are practised much as in those *Länder* ruled by Christian Democrats. If the witch hunt has not been unleashed to the full in the SPD

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Länder, it is due above all to the objections strongly raised by middle echelon and rank-and-file Social Democrats.

A broad movement of democrats (Liberals, Social Democrats, Communists and progressive Christians) is developing to combat the Employment Ban, and has already had some successes. In one or two cases the ban has been rescinded. In addition, the UN Secretary, Dr Kurt Waldheim, has written to the Bonn government asking how this practice can be reconciled with the Declaration of Human Rights. Recently in Bonn 400 representatives from Finland, Denmark, Italy, France, Belgium and Holland took part in an international protest. French and Italian deputies to the Strasbourg 'Parliament' have voiced strong protests. In Denmark and Holland, committees have been formed to organise protests against the practice of the Employment Ban in the Federal Republic of Germany. The French teachers' union, SNES, has protested to President Scheel (*Deutsche Volkszeitung*, May 29, 1974). It would help the struggle of German democrats if strong protests were also made from Britain.

May Day 1975 demonstration through Cologne organised by the DGB (West German TUC). The GEW (teachers' union) banner reads:

'Defend People's Rights—Employment Bans Out'

Photograph by courtesy of *Unsere Zeit*

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ABSURDITIES OF DIEGO GARCIA

Commander Edgar P. Young
RN Retired

HAVING read and heard so much of the strategic and other advantages of the June 5 reopening of the Suez Canal to the Soviet Union, it was interesting to note what was written in the *Times* of June 30 by their defence correspondent, Henry Stanhope:

> Allied naval commanders are hoping that the reopening of the Suez Canal may pave the way for an extension of Nato's presence in the Indian Ocean. . . . Nato powers which already take a national interest in the Indian Ocean and the south Atlantic include Britain, the United States and the Netherlands. Some joint planning already takes place between the three and the French navy to maintain Western presence east of Suez for most of the time. . . . Now Western navies would like joint planning in the Indian Ocean to be placed upon an official basis. A study of the problems has begun in Brussels.

This revelation recalls a discussion, reported in the *Times* of March 10, 1975, between Mr Michael Wilford, Deputy Under-Secretary in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Mr V. V. Trivedi, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs (India), in Delhi concerning security in the Indian Ocean and, in particular, of the British government's decision to allow the US 'to enlarge their naval and air facilities' on the island of Diego Garcia.

Our man argued that this decision was 'justified' by 'alleged increases in Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean' where the Soviet Union 'enjoys port facilities in several places' but where, he admitted, 'they have no bases.'

The Indian side complained that the existence of an American base on Diego Garcia 'was likely to prove a stimulus to Soviet-American naval rivalry in a region which so far had been comparatively free of it,' to which the British team made a very strange and apparently self-contradictory reply: 'Diego Garcia should be seen in the perspective of a general contraction of British defence commitments as no more than one of several small footholds remaining east of Suez.'

That this expresses the British government's official attitude was revealed quite clearly on July 9 in the House of Commons debate on the Royal Navy. Defending against Conservative criticism and on

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traditionally imperialist lines, Mr Frank Judd, Under Secretary of State for Defence (Royal Navy), said candidly:

> The ending of the Simonstown Agreement in no way prevents the Royal Navy operating in the Indian Ocean where facilities at a number of other places are available. . . . The Royal Navy will also benefit from the increased flexibility provided by the reopening of the Suez Canal. We hope that the first Royal Naval Group, led by the destroyer HMS Glamorgan, will pass through the canal next month on their way to the Indian Ocean and the Far East.

In order to 'clear his yard-arm', as they say in 'The Service', Judd repeated the formula printed in the Defence White Paper (Cmnd 5976), saying that 'the government shared the desire for peace and stability in the Indian Ocean and fully supported the proposals of the Australian government for mutual restraint by the United States and the Soviet Union.' Is it not strange how our government is apparently deaf and blind to the much more effective proposal made jointly by the governments of the USSR and India, that *all* foreign warships and military aircraft shall be withdrawn from the Indian Ocean area and 'all foreign bases there shall be dismantled.' Judd then spoiled his case, if he had one, by deeply regreting that despite our representations the Russian government had pressed on with its decision to build up a military presence.

So Britain agrees the Soviet Union has 'no bases' in the Indian Ocean area, but we are asked to believe that the Somali port of Berbera—presumably what Mr Judd was referring to—described by the Director of the CIA six months ago as 'a small installation that will handle two or three ships', is now a formidable Soviet base, threatening our vital sea lanes and necessitating the immediate building up of a major US sea and air base on Diego Garcia!

This is an old yarn, of course, which has often been categorically denied by the governments of the Soviet Union and of Somalia. It was trotted out again, however, by US Defence Secretary Schlesinger before the Senate Armed Services Committee on June 10, asking for $13.8 million for the fiscal year 1976, 'for additional logistical support facilities on the island of Diego Garcia'. (He estimated the ultimate cost as $108 million, suggesting that the description of 'a modest expansion of facilities' applied to them in our Defence White Paper is misleading.)

Armed with a CIA spy-satellite photograph, open to varying interpretation, and making use of vague and confusing military terms, he argued for the Diego Garcia money by adducing such

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arguments as that 'the Russians have installed a missile-handling facility at Berbera, including *Styx* anti-ship missiles.' The *International Herald Tribune* of June 11 noted that virtually all the nations in the Indian Ocean area had opposed the Diego Garcia project, but Schlesinger told the senators 'they should ignore the publicly stated positions of these countries,' i.e. India, Sri Lanka, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines plus every African country on the Indian Ocean excepting the Republic of South Africa. 'In private,' he said, 'they have asked the United States to go ahead with the project. . . . Most states in the region would regret any US decision to scrap the expansion programme.' One can imagine what kind of states these might be (memories of Korea and Vietnam)!

Since senators and congressmen seemed to be falling for this line of argument, supported by President Ford, the Somali government invited US journalists, including an American Broadcasting Corporation television team, and then two groups of US senators and congressmen to Berbera to see things for themselves.

From this open visit, 'evidence' came from such sources as Senator Dewey Bartlett (*International Herald Tribune*, July 7), who stated that 'an on-site inspection' by him and his ten-man team (invited by the Somali government) absolutely confirms Pentagon allegations that the Soviet Union is installing a missile facility at Berbera. In the *Guardian* of July 8, however, this same Senator is quoted as having revealed that 'although the installation was not a missile base, it had handling, refuelling and storage facilities for Soviet surface-to-air missiles with a range of 20 to 30 miles', i.e. such as might quite normally have been supplied to the Somali government by the Soviet Union for defence of their port area.

It is against this 'menace' that the US propose to dredge the harbour at Diego Garcia to accommodate five large ships at a time, and to extend the runway so that it can be used by B-52 bombers or by F-111 aircraft capable of delivering nuclear bombs on every country round the Indian Ocean.

Talk about using a sledgehammer to crack a nut! This is installing a heavy howitzer to counter a pea-shooter! As the landlords and sitting tenants of Diego Garcia it is up to the British government to say firmly 'Enough of this nonsense' before we are involved in another Vietnam.

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BOOKS

Politics in Zambia
Edited by William Tordoff
Manchester University Press, 440 pp, £6

THIS STUDY of political development in Zambia since independence is the product of six academics, all of whom have had connection with the University of Zambia at some stage or other, though only one of them is on the present staff there, and none of them would appear to be Zambian born or a Zambian citizen.

Any book of this kind, written by many hands about different aspects of Zambian development, suffers from the lack of an 'overview' and a certain disjointedness or lack of themal unity between the various contributors. This is perhaps inevitable in a discrete collection of this type, but complicates the task of a reader attempting to obtain a rounded picture of the benefits accruing to the Zambian people from independeence.

Between them the authors bring out quite clearly the awful legacy of impoverishment and deprivation left to the Zambian people by colonialism. 'Colonial rule came to Northern Rhodesia from the already white minority-ruled and racialist south so that the country was, and continued to be, the major northernmost outpost of southern African European settler rule' (p 2).

The creation of the Central African Federation merely perpetuated and reinforced white domination. 'A deformed economy and crass disregard for the human aspects of development: this is a common yet fair judgement on the effects of the Central African Federation in Zambia. For ten years (1954-63) the wealth of Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) was diverted to Southern Rhodesia, where it was used mainly to benefit the ruling white minority' (p 321).

Between them, the authors also concede there has been undeniable progress since independence, but perhaps tend to dwell more on the defects than on the achievements. President Kaunda's vague philosophy of 'humanism' they feel has not been implemented, and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) has been unable to mobilise the people for the achievement of its goals. Sectional (including tribal) conflict has increased in Zambia since independence, the gap between town and country has widened. Nationalisation of the copper mines and other expatriate-owned industry has not led to more rational distribution of wealth but has facilitated the growth of a privileged black middle class. Price control is ineffective, and social security and minimum wage regulations are not fully enforced.

The key to the transformation of Zambian society, into the sort of humanist socialism that President Kaunda has spoken of, depends in the first place on the existence of a party with a clear ideology and the organisation and corps of cadres necessary to carry it out. The authors doubt whether UNIP yet fills the bill, and the conclusions of the book are pessimistic in the short-term: 'The prospect in Zambia is of growing instability. . . . The 1970s may well see Zambia, under the combined forces of her middle class, both expatriate and local, and of the republic of South Africa, falling back' along the road

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to more conservative economic and political patterns closer to their colonial heritage.

'It would in our view be a tragic retrogression. . . . However, such a phase would be only temporary. In this, the most urbanised of sub-Saharan states, the abandonment of humanist programmes would hasten the emergence of class conflict. It would herald a more bitter era in the country's history, but one which, by its opposition of interests and values, would eventually embody once again the seeds of radical change' (p 401).

No one can quarrel with the logic of this dialectical view of social change. Nor can one fail to be impressed by the mass of information about post-independence Zambia which the authors have arranged and interpreted, providing many valuable insights into developments there since independence. But perhaps their purview is too narrow. The book covers, after all, only the years 1964-1972. Is it reasonable to pass judgement on any government after so short a period of self-rule? Some of the figures quoted by the authors as marks of failure refer to the earlier years of this period, and need to be related to the situation ten years later before one can accept them as significant.

Moreover, there are huge gaps in the picture, because each contributor has concentrated on his own narrow sphere, leaving it to the editor to supply the linkage. Virtually nothing has been said about Zambia's international relationships (only Zambia's response to Rhodesia's UDI is discussed in depth). One would like to see more about the influence of imperialism and neo-colonialism, about the pressures of finance capital (Anglo-American, *et al*), about the issues of the cold war and the realities behind Zambia's posture of non-alignment.

Zambia has played an important role in the Organisation of African Unity, in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations. It is only when Zambia's internal development is seen against the background of developments in Africa and the world at large that one can get the whole picture in focus, and begin to understand—though, of course, not necessarily to approve—the motives leading President Kaunda to engage in dialogue with Premier Vorster to bring 'peace' to southern Africa.

BRIAN BUNTING

Sharing in Development
International Labour Office
(Geneva), 686 pp, £4

ONE OF A SERIES of studies of employment problems in developing countries, conducted under the ILO's World Employment Programme, this study of the Philippine situation, with recommendations, was made by a mission headed by a US professor of economics at Yale University who is also director of that university's Economic Growth Centre, Gustav Ranis. (The study is known as the 'Ranis Report' in the Philippines.) The mission was heavily staffed by Western economists, and its tendency virtually to ignore the neo-colonial factors that have hampered Philippine development has given the whole exercise a somewhat disembodied character.

Some of the recommendations are pertinent: for intensifying of the present Philippine land reform, for dispersal of labour-intensive industry about the country instead of concentration in centres like Manila, for discouragement of foreign companies from raising their capital locally instead of bringing new

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capital into the country; but some key recommendations—for diminishing Philippine economic protectionist measures such as import controls and duties, and for putting emphasis on export industries—tend to satisfy the needs of US and other imperialist powers rather than those of the Philippines. The latter is now being badly affected by the world capitalist economic crisis that hurts it precisely in such policy spheres. Not surprisingly, the 'Ranis Report' has had a controversial reception in the country it is intended to assist.

The most useful aspect of this study, for a student of Philippine affairs or of development problems in general, is the collection of 20 special papers in the appendix that are loaded with facts and statistics, covering the agrarian problem, industrial development and breakdown of population and labour supply.

WILLIAM POMEROY

Conversations with Lukács
Edited by Theo Pinkus
Merlin, 156 pp, £1

THIS IS at one and the same time a profound and a simple book. The vocabulary of science, philosophy and aesthetics send the unlearned man like this reviewer to his dictionary, but the ideas pour forth with profusion and compel understanding. The references to philosophers, politicians, scientists, poets, novelists, art critics in the whole range of aesthetic criticism, display with what 'slippered ease' the man of erudition moves about in the world of culture: Lukács talks, answering questions, with a simplicity and intellectual vigour which display the extent to which Marxism has become his mode of thought.

This kind of writing has the defect of its virtues. The mind of the thinker interviewed, moving easily in abstractions and in sweeping generalisations, pins down the abstractions with homely illustrations and leaves one illuminated and aroused. But the medium of communication is conversation, mercurial, throwing off frequent sparks demanding (but not getting) footnotes and explanations, and raising many questions on the way that perforce remain unanswered.

The first conversation deals with being and consciousness—and refutes the limitations ascribed to Marxism, that it is concerned only with social and historical categories. It demonstrates satisfyingly the deep and basic concern of Marxism with the individual, and the problems that face individuals, as the very basis from which historical and social categories are derived.

In the conversation, 'Society and the Individual', Lukács is asked to say whether there exist ideological phenomena indifferent to class: phenomena in the structure which are not determined by class positions. In a paragraph too long to quote, Lukács answers yes, the truths of mathematics, physics, astronomy have a general validity, but that this has not always been so; Copernicus, Galileo and Darwin, whose ideas are now universally received, came up against hostile class and social positions.

Scholars will welcome this little book. Humbler men will ask for more enlightenment. They will want to go to Lukács's fuller expositions, and I recommend this introduction to a great Marxist in his study ranging over a wide spectrum of human experience and shedding a provocative light wherever he turns.

BEN AINLEY

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Karl Marx
Michael Evans
Allen & Unwin, 216 pp, £4.60

THIS VOLUME is one in a series of monographs on political thinkers. Setting out to expound the political thought of Marx, it is prefaced by a short biography, at times rather too condensed, and a note on Marx's writings (which supplements the useful bibliography).

The section on history first discusses those concepts which, it is maintained, Marx held to be applicable to all societies; second, the organisation of capitalist society. In the first of these discussions Evans excludes any treatment of Marxist philosophy and therefore flounders around helplessly when confronted by Marx's views on the determination by economic factors of politics and ideology. He falls back on the arguments of authors like Habermas and Acton that distort Marx's views, presenting them as hard and fast rules rather than as general principles whose application depends on particular circumstances.

The section on politics is clearer, although the discussion on the state suffers from the inadequacies of the previous chapter. In general, Marx's views are presented in some detail and with careful attention to the changes Marx made in the light of experience.

As is usual in such books, Engels gets somewhat shabbily treated: this is a pity as his writings, especially on historical questions, supplement those of Marx and help explain some of the ambiguities in them.

The author avoids any discussion of later disputes about the interpretation of Marx: he describes himself as steering a course between 'the Scylla of neo-Hegelian intuitionist Marxism and the Charybdis of positivist Althusserian Marxism without, happily, mentioning either.' In fact, he does not attempt to navigate the straits at all, and restricts himself to repeating Marx's formulations with detailed comment without giving any kind of overall view.

Despite its somewhat academic and uninteresting style, this book is one of the better introductions to Marx's political ideas and will be of use to those interested in political theory.

TONY DODD

The Labour Movement in Europe
Walter Kendall
Allen Lane, 456 pp, £5

THIS IS a straightforwardly, if expensively, anti-Communist book in which Europe is the Common Market, Germany is West Germany and Trotsky is a pal of Lenin.

However, it contains a good deal of illuminating detail.

In the decay of the German SPD from a revolutionary Marxist party, personally guided by Engels, into revisionism and outright reformism, the author notes as a turning point the decision of the 'Marxist' party leadership that the party members leading the trade unions could not be subject to party discipline in union matters. This 'accorded institutional recognition to the primacy of the material interest of German labour in the existing order, represented by the trade unions, over the "ideal" interest of the working class, heretofore represented by the party, in the overthrow of capitalism.'

The account of Mussolini's reaction to the bankruptcies of 1931—sweeping nationalisation including engineering, shipbuilding and banking, and the establishing of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction, still one of Italy's leading employers—also has a topical flavour.

F. N.

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FOR OUR CLASS—THE WORKING CLASS

'The courts, the laws, are made by the ruling class for their class, not for my class, the working class.' This statement by Joan Maynard, writing in *LM* in 1973, was picked out by the 'we-reject-the-Marxist-class-analysis' pair, Stephen Haseler and David Carlton, for special mention in a July press release. One of their chief complaints against MPs Joan Maynard and Frank Allaun is that they contribute to *LM*. They could have levelled this charge against very many of the representatives of our class; both in parliament and the trade unions.

The two who complained claimed to be doing so on behalf of the newly-formed Social Democratic Alliance. The SDA's advertised policy points published in *Labour Weekly* (July 4) are notable for what they leave out: no mention is made, for example, of a need for a working class press. They *would* like to see bans and proscriptions brought back (*Observer*, July 13), with implied sanctions against Joan Maynard and others who write for *LM*.

How, one wonders, do they view the *Morning Star* and *Tribune*? Do they support the government's ban on advertising? After seeing Ron Hayward ticking them off in *Labour Weekly* (July 18) for their want of tolerance . . . perhaps they will support a ban on government advertising in the Labour Party's paper. But surely the SDA advertisement said something about that:

'We are long-standing members of the Labour Party, who are convinced our Party is in danger of being driven from its historic course by an intolerant dogmatism. . . .' Like government advertising bans?

Incidentally, although Ron Hayward has received a personal assurance from the SDA's Chairman, Peter Stephenson, that the press release was issued by Haseler and Carlton without his knowledge, no one has yet written to *Labour Monthly* to disclaim responsibility. The implication of at least one of the statements in the press release is that *LM* is published by a political party other than the Labour Party. The fact is that *LM* struggles along in a state of perpetual financial independence.

Labour Monthly has also had to survive without government advertising and is maintained only by our sales income, by the generous help of adverts from trade union and other labour movement organisations, and by the combined efforts of donations, large and small, from some of our readers whose understanding of the financial needs of the journal provides constant encouragement. Our fund total for June was, nevertheless, low. Let me then sound the warning: our price increased in October 1974 by 5p. The postal increase in March meant that three of those pence were knocked straight out. We are threatened with a further postal increase. Meanwhile every other item in *LM*'s budget has gone up and up.

We must ask for very great efforts to be made by all readers, particularly those in the trade union movement. Collect for our fund. Send in individual contributions. Add whatever you can to your regular contribution. Promote sales among friends and in your organisation. Expand the trade union advertising we already carry in our special issues—New Year and May Day—to cover events at any time during the year: TUC, Labour Party Conference, festive and gala occasions, historic struggles, events of the month and calls for recruitment and support.

Reporting the May 22 R. Palme Dutt Tribute meeting in Leeds, sponsored

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by the Workers' Educational Association and held in the Trades Council Club, Stan Walker and Andrew Turner wrote:

'The meeting was attended by over a hundred people. It was chaired by Jimmy Miller of the National Union of Mineworkers, whose Gaelic humour ensured an efficient yet informal atmosphere. The film record of *Labour Monthly*, "Fifty Fighting Years", was praised by all, particularly the archive footage. In his memorial lecture, Fergus Nicholson paid tribute to the guidance given to generations of workers by RPD's "Notes of the Month", and pointed out their value to the labour movement in its greatest struggle today, the fight against Britain's entry into the Common Market.'

The proceeds of that evening are among the donations to our special fund 'In Memory of RPD' below. Another donation came from Wal Pratt in Australia. His letter is too long to give in full, but it contained this:

'May I add "this sprig of western pine" to the tributes. It was in far-western New South Wales, in the mining city of Broken Hill in the depression, when as a Congregational minister and adult education tutor I made it a main purpose to improve relations between the working class and the Church, that the Left Book Club introduced me to Palme Dutt through his *India Today* and *World Politics*. His books and *LM* have made him for me an inspiring guide and leader into action over the forty years since: through Sydney slums, railway workshops, the University of Sydney, with battling wheatgrowers, in the peace movement during the McCarthy period, as a high school history teacher, and in the United Nations Association which we have got going in this western area of NSW in recent years. RPD's devotion to living fact—past, present and future—in movement, always put the ring of victory into his call to understand and to act. It is for us, in his memory, to give that ring of victory a more and more certain sound.'

Our fund totals in June were:

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£43.92

DONATIONS IN MEMORY OF RPD came from: West Ham North Branch 50p, W P (Australia) £11.57, Leeds Film Show (per A Turner and S Walker) £31.85.

Our thanks to you all.

Nicola Seyd

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The Labour Movement in Europe, Walter Kendall. Allen Lane, 456 pp, £5.

How to Read Donald Duck, Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart. Idea-books, 112 pp, £1.35.

From Radicalism to Socialism, Willard Wolfe. Yale University Press, 334 pp, £8.75.

The Socialist Challenge, Stuart Holland. Quartet, 414 pp, £5.95.

Cuba for Beginners, Eduardo Rius. Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 70 pp, 60p.

Middle Class Opinion and the 1889 Dock Strike: Our History Pamphlet 61, Gillian Cronjé. Communist Party, 26 pp, 25p.

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The *Labour Monthly* office is always glad to receive old copies of the journal to help make up sets for bound volumes. We are on the look-out for copies for the years 1921-36, 1940-43 and 1945-49. Please send any you can spare to our office at 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.

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